

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 AMMAN 01295 01 OF 03 070935Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W  
-----070938Z 053314 /20

O R 070839Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 811  
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 AMMAN 1295

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR US IS XF  
SUBJECT: NORMALIZATION OF ARAB-ISRAELI RELATIONS

REF: STATE 046389

1. WE BELIEVE CERTAIN BASIC FACTORS WILL GUIDE JORDANIAN REACTION TO THIS QUESTION, AND TO SOME EXTENT ARAB REACTION IN GENERAL.  
A) EXTENT OF TERRITORIAL WITHDRAWAL WILL EFFECT MARKEDLY EXTENT TO WHICH ARABS ARE WILLING TO CONSIDER NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS;  
B) PALESTINIAN ASPECT OF THE EQUATION IS UNPREDICTABLE AND DIFFICULT TO CATEGORIZE, BUT GIVING TANGIBLE EFFECT TO PRINCIPLES OF REPATRIATION AND COMPENSATION WILL BE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT;  
C) ARAB PUBLIC OPINION STILL INFLUENCES GOVERNMENTAL PERCEPTIONS ON THE POINT TO A LARGE EXTENT;  
D) NEVERTHELESS, JUST AS ISRAELIS ARE NOT CLEAR IN THEIR PUBLIC POSITION ON TERRITORIAL ISSUE FOR A COMBINATION OF PUBLIC OPINION (DOMESTIC POLITICAL)

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 AMMAN 01295 01 OF 03 070935Z

AND NEGOTIATING REASONS, THE ARABS ARE THEMSELVES ALSO NOT LIKELY TO BE OVERLY CLEAR ON NORMALIZATION ISSUES FOR SAME COMBINATION OF REASONS;  
E) AS FOR JORDAN, IT HAS PROBABLY THE LEAST INHIBITIONS ABOUT NORMALIZATION ON ITS OWN; HAS GONE FARTHER AT PRESENT TIME IN THIS DIRECTION THAN ANY OTHER ARAB STATE; AND IS AT SAME TIME MOST

LIKELY TO BE CONSTRAINED IN THE FUTURE BY  
THE OTHER ARABS BECAUSE OF ITS ESSENTIALLY  
WEAK POSITION IN THE ARAB WORLD.

2. LOOKING AT THE TYPES OF QUESTIONS WHICH CONSTITUTE NORMALIZATION, WE SEE--TRAVEL AND TRADE, DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES, JOINT OR PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS, AND CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES AS POSSIBLE AREAS OF ACTIVITY. THESE COULD BE PHASED IN CONJUNCTION WITH WITHDRAWALS. OTHERS MIGHT BE IMPLEMENTED INDEPENDENTLY. SOME HAVE NATURAL QUID PRO QUOS ON THE ISRAELI SIDE; SOME WHICH MUST BE IMPLEMENTED ON BOTH SIDES CONTAIN MUTUAL BENEFITS; AND SOME ARE UNLIKELY TO BE CARRIED OUT, EVEN SECRETLY AND SEPARATELY, UNLESS AND UNTIL FULL PEACE ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT AND ARE UNDERWAY. THESE MEASURES ARE LOOKED AT FROM THE JORDANIAN PERSPECTIVE; INDEED THE WEST BANK MAY ALREADY PROVIDE ONE EXAMPLE AND AN AREA FOR FURTHER MUTUAL "BRIDGING" CONTACT BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE ARABS.

3. TRAVEL AND TRADE:  
PRESENT SITUATION--

A) WEST BANK IS OPEN TO VISITS BY ARABS WHO HAVE A CONNECTION THERE (I.E., NON-RESIDENT PALESTINIANS AND FAMILIES) AND WHO ARE NOT OTHERWISE PROHIBITED BY SECURITY FACTORS. SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND VISIT EACH YEAR. ONCE THERE, THEY CAN TRAVEL TO ISRAEL OF COURSE.  
WEST BANKERS CAN LEAVE AND ARE USUALLY ALLOWED TO RETURN AFTER

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 AMMAN 01295 01 OF 03 070935Z

SIX WEEKS. FOREIGN (NONARAB) TOURISTS CAN GENERALLY PERFORM THE SAME EVOLUTION. TRADE BETWEEN JORDAN (AND THE ARAB WORLD) AND THE WEST BANK/GAZA AMOUNTED IN 1975 TO \$45.9 M IN IMPORTS FROM THE WEST BANK AND \$5.9M IN EXPORTS TO THE WEST BANK. WHILE ALL OF THE IMPORTS ARE SUPPOSED TO BE OF WEST BANK/GAZA ORIGIN, IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE THAT A LARGE SHARE ORIGINATES IN ISRAEL.

EARLY STAGE--

A) BOYCOTT MIGHT BE RESTRICTED BY ARABS TO PRIMARY BOYCOTT.  
B) SOME ISRAELI ARABS MIGHT BE PERMITTED TO TRAVEL IN THE ARAB WORLD AS ONLY WEST BANK ARABS NOW CAN.  
C) TRADE MIGHT BE INCREASED BY REMOVAL OF SOME JORDANIAN AND ISRAELI QUANTITATIVE RESTRICTIONS, I.E., WEST BANK PRODUCTS COMPETITIVE WITH JORDANIAN PRODUCTS MIGHT BE ADMITTED, AND IN GREATER QUANTITIES AND INDEED ISRAELIS MIGHT ASSIST BY ALLOWING SOME INCREASED

ARAB INVESTMENT IN THE WEST BANK ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE PRODUCTS WOULD BE ALLOWED TO BE SENT TO JORDAN, THEREBY BENEFITTING ISRAELI FOREIGN EXCHANGE HOLDINGS.

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PAGE 01 AMMAN 01295 02 OF 03 070945Z  
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 AMMAN 1295

EXDIS

D) ISRAEL AND THE ARABS COULD ALLOW EACH OTHER AIR OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS FOR SCHEDULED AIRCRAFT ON LIMITED ROUTES. THIS IS OF GREAT INTEREST TO JORDAN. FOR IT TO BE EFFECTIVE FOR ISRAEL, PRESUMABLY SEVERAL ARAB STATES WOULD HAVE TO GRANT SUCH RIGHTS.

E) POSSIBLE ESTABLISHMENT OF OPEN BANK TRANSFERS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES.

F) REDUCTION IN HOSTILE PROPAGANDA (NOT VERY HOSTILE EVEN NOW) AND EXCHANGE OF SOME PRINTED MATTER--ISRAELI-JORDANIAN TELEVISION AND RADIO ARE AT PRESENT FREELY HEARD AND WATCHED IN EACH COUNTRY,  
LATER STAGES--

A) OPENING BORDER TO TRAVEL BY ISRAELI TOURISTS AND BUSINESSMEN ON GRADUALLY INCREASING OR PHASED BASIS, PERHAPS STARTING WITH GROUP TOURS IN THE ARAB WORLD.

B) OPENING UP TRADE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ARAB WORLD THROUGH WEST BANK OR OTHERWISE WITH GRADUAL REDUCTION IN RESTRICTIONS FOR POLITICAL OR MILITARY PURPOSES.

C) REMOVAL OF PRIMARY BOYCOTT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 AMMAN 01295 02 OF 03 070945Z

D) AIR AND SEA SERVICE, FREIGHT AND PASSENGER,  
MIGHT BE BEGUN AND EXPANDED. POSSIBLY ARAB STATES  
COULD CONSIDER SERVING WEST BANK/GAZA FIRST.  
JORDANIANS (AND POSSIBLY EVEN THE ISRAELIS) WOULD  
HAVE ECONOMIC INTEREST IN JORDAN OBTAINING ACCESS TO  
MEDITERRANEAN SEAPORTS, NOT ONLY IN GAZA BUT AT HAIFA.  
E) FULLER EXCHANGE OF ACADEMIC PERSONALITIES  
AND LITERATURE BETWEEN THE TWO STATES.

#### 4. DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES

PRESENT--

A) NOT EXISTING OFFICIAL CONTACTS, ALTHOUGH WE  
UNDERSTAND THAT FROM TIME TO TIME IN THIRD STATES,  
DIPLOMATS AND OFFICIALS FROM BOTH SIDES  
(WE KNOW THIS INCLUDES SOME JORDANIAN CIVIL AND  
MILITARY OFFICIALS) MEET AND DISCUSS ISSUES INFORMALLY  
AND UNOFFICIALLY WITH ISRAELIS IN SIMILAR CAPACITIES.  
IN ADDITION JORDAN-ISRAELI MIXED ARMISTICE COMMISSION  
IS A POINT OF CONTACT UNDER UN AUSPICES.

EARLY STAGES--

POSSIBLE ENCOURAGEMENT OF SEMI-OFFICIAL  
CONTACTS--MOST LOGICALLY AT A PEACE  
CONFERENCE OR IN CONNECTION THEREWITH, I.E., KM 101-  
TYPE TALKS AS REQUIRED. THIS MIGHT BE EXPANDED  
AND ENCOURAGED IN OTHER AREAS IN THIRD STATES, AND  
PERHAPS WITH THE SELECTION OF A COUNTRY SUCH  
AS THE UNITED STATES TO REPRESENT SOME OR ALL OF THE INTERESTS  
OF ARAB STATES IN ISRAEL AND VICE VERSA.

LATER STAGES--

THE OPENING OF RELATIONS OFFICIALLY WITH THE  
USE OF A "PROTECTING POWER" IN EACH CAPITAL, TO  
BE EXPANDED GRADUALLY BY THE INTRODUCTION OF PER-  
SONNEL AND THE OPENING PERHAPS OF SPECIALIZED  
OFFICES OR MISSIONS--I.E., TRADE DELGATIONS,  
CONSULATES--LEADING TO FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.  
(WE FOUND EMBASSY CAIRO'S SUGGESTIONS IN THIS AREA

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 AMMAN 01295 02 OF 03 070945Z

PARTICULARLY WELL THOUGHT OUT AND DO NOT INTEND TO  
REPEAT THEM.)

#### 5. JOINT OR PARELLEL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

THIS IS AN AREA OF GREAT INTEREST TO JORDAN GIVEN  
THE LONG COMMON BORDER SPANNED BY ECONOMIC INTERESTS.

PRESENT SITUATION--

THERE IS LITTLE CONTACT, MOSTLY LIMITED NOW

TO THE U.S. ROLE IN OFFERING INFORMAL GOOD OFFICES  
TO RESOLVE THE YARMOUK WATER RIGHTS ISSUE IN  
CONNECTION WITH BUILDING THE MAQARIN DAM. AS AN  
IMMEDIATE STEP, RESOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM COULD  
SERVE TO ASSURE ISRAEL OF JORDAN'S GOOD INTENTIONS BY  
CONTINUING TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE WATER FOR THE  
ADASIYAH TRIANGLE.

EARLY STATE--

A) COMMON AGREEMENT, ASSISTED BY THE U.S., ON  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEAD SEA POTASH RESOURCES--  
USE OF COMMON DIKES AND AN OVERALL USE OF COMMON  
PLANNING IN THE AREA, PERHAPS WITH THE U.S. AS AN  
INTERMEDIARY, BUT ALSO RELYING ON CONTACTS DIRECTLY  
THROUGH THE MIXED ARMISTICE COMMISSION FOR QUESTIONS  
INVOLVING DIRECTLY DEMARCTION/BOUNDARY LINE PROBLEMS.

B) JOINT DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING  
FOR THE UPPER GULF OF AQABA, THE WADI ARABA AND  
JORDAN VALLEY.

C) EXCHANGE OF DATA IN AREAS OF TECHNOLOGY, AGRI-  
CULTURE, ETC., WHICH WOULD BE OF MUTUAL BENEFIT TO

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PAGE 01 AMMAN 01295 03 OF 03 070952Z  
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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 AMMAN 1295

EXDIS

BOTH SIDES, I.E., DRIP IRRIGATION TECHNOLOGY,  
HYDROLOGY, ETC.  
LATER STAGES--  
JOINT WORK ON WIDE-RANGING SERIES OF COOPERATIVE  
PROJECTS, SUCH AS USE OF MEDITERRANEAN SEAWATER FOR  
POWER PRODUCTION IN DEAD SEA AREA, EXCHANGE ON

A DIRECT BASIS OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, PLANNING ACTIVITIES, UNIVERSITY TRAINING AND SO FORTH.

6. CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES

PRESENT--

MIXED ARMISTICE COMMISSION

EARLY STAGES--

A) USE OF PERSONNEL FROM BOTH SIDES TO OBSERVE SATISFACTORY COMPLETION OF WITHDRAWALS AND DEMILITARIZATION.

B) USE OF OBSERVATION POSTS, JOINT MILITARY MISSIONS, AND OVERHEAD RECONNAISSANCE OF EACH SIDE IN CERTAIN FIXED AREAS TO ENSURE CONTINUING COMPLIANCE. THIS MIGHT INCLUDE JOINT TRAVEL BY GENEVA CONFERENCE DELEGATES TO THE AREA FOR

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 AMMAN 01295 03 OF 03 070952Z

ORIENTATION AND INSPECTION, PARTICULARLY AS PART OF WORKING GROUP ACTIVITIES.

C) JOINT NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS.

LATER STAGES--

FULLER EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AND JOINT MISSIONS. BROAD USE OF TECHNICAL VERIFICATION TECHNIQUES BY BOTH SIDES IN AGREED AREAS. AGREEMENT TO EXCHANGE MILITARY ATTACHES WITH WIDE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND OBSERVATION.

7. WHILE THE ABOVE DESCRIPTIONS ARE ROUGHLY INDICATIVE OF PHASING, THERE ARE ALSO A NUMBER OF MEASURES WHICH COULD OR INDEED SHOULD BE PUT INTO EFFECT MORE RAPIDLY. SUCH QUESTIONS AS YARMOUK WATER RIGHTS, AN INCREASE IN WEST BANK INVESTMENT AND TRADE, AND A REDUCTION IN PROPAGANDA AND POLITICAL HARASSMENT IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS MIGHT HELP. SOME QUID PRO QUO WILL BE REQUIRED FOR CERTAIN OF THESE MEASURES. WHILE IT MAY BE GROSSLY DISTURBING TO THE ISRAELIS, ONE OF THE MOST HELPFUL THINGS WHICH COULD BE DONE WOULD BE QUIET AND QUICK ISRAELI ACTION ON THE ISSUE OF HOLDING UP THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW SETTLEMENTS IN ALL OR A LARGE PART OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

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## Message Attributes

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